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the child has his earliest and most meaningful contacts. In his own household live his parents and his brothers and sisters. Only adoption or exceptional circumstances bring others into the home. Within easy reach are the maternal grandparents, the mother's sisters and their husbands and children, and the mother's unmarried brothers.

The child is not entirely cut off from other contacts. The extended family from which his father has come may be located in the same vicinity. Then the paternal relatives will see him often and show great affection for him.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally. There are no special modes of address or obligations owed to maternal relatives which are withheld from paternal relatives. That the mother's kin figure so prominently is a mechanical reaction to the rule of residence and the scattered and isolated state of the extended families rather than to any theories concerning the closeness or remoteness of particular lines of kin.

The adult men the child sees are dressed in long-sleeved buckskin shirts, with rounded neck opening and with fringe at the shoulders and at the lower ends of the sleeves. They also wear broad loincloths of the same material which fall to a point just above the knees in front and hang in back "just high enough so they won't be stepped on." For footgear they have knee-high moccasins with uppers turned down in folds. These folds are convenient places in which to carry knives or small objects. Often an upward-curving, disk-shaped piece about an inch and a half in diameter projects beyond the toe. This is really a portion of the rawhide sole which has been pounded, moistened, and sewed into position at either side. When it dries, it stays fixed. This projection is found most often on moccasins made for special or dress occasions. "The upturned toe is for decoration only; it's of no special use. In fact, a person sometimes trips on it."

The high boot is the characteristic type, but, when buckskin is scarce, low-cut moccasins suffice. Sometimes high moccasins are worn in cold weather and low ones in summer. Among the members of the Eastern Chiricahua band, but not the Southern and Central Chiricahua, the low-cut moccasins are used almost as frequently as the others.

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291 as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the [554] high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have [184] this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted [386] red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

[411] When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

302 After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a [777] knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad [765] luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

[824] Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After [237] washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua [777] don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is [787] one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

302 At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red 535 ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts [824] circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

000 In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

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[608] between you and me which one of these men do you think should sing for my granddaughter? Which one should I make my friend?"

And right there you want to be very careful. If you choose one of these men, you are brother to him all your life, even if you are not related to him. You call him friend, but you think just as much of him as you do of your brother. He thinks of your children as his children. After the ceremony is over, you give each other some valuable things—saddles, horses, anything that is worth something. When a man is poor, he gives what he can; it doesn't matter. They do that as long as they live. They might come out equal in giving things to each other.

[431] Then I think about it and say, "You take B. for your granddaughter."

If you choose him, he will be there to see that everything is done right and he will be in there to bless your granddaughter in his way. He blesses all the people when they are putting pollen on the girl. Right in that tepee he asks for good in life for your granddaughter, for all good things, for long life. That's what the ceremony is for. It's up to the man that you choose to have the girl do the things that have always been done in this ceremony. He directs things.

In the minds of individuals the singers are graded according to considerations of friendship and faith. Some singers are thought by their admirers "to know the songs better and to know more about the ceremony." Others watch the fates of the girls for whom particular men have officiated.

I can't say which is the best. The girl my father sang for is still living and is healthy. Many girls die. The ceremony is held so that the girl will grow up and be strong, so you must watch for that. For the girl's puberty rite the Eastern
• [184] Chiricahua and the Central Chiricahua singers sometimes teach different things. Whatever the singer in charge tells you to do, you must obey. You must follow his directions.

The singer is a free agent as far as obligation to participate in any specific ceremony is concerned:

S.'s mother-in-law was one of the feast-givers. She was talking about the preparations they were making. Just at this time W. [a singer] came up. She spoke to him, asking him to sing for her girl. She called him "brother" and pleaded with him. She said, "I am old and crippled and had to wait to see you. I had no way to get to see you before."

W. just sat there for a long time and said nothing. Then he said, "It looks as if you were waiting for me to come around so it would be easy for you to ask me." He acted as though he wasn't going to do it.

The singer takes his task seriously: "I was singing for C. I took care of her. All my thoughts and efforts were for that girl during the ceremony."

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are held erect, an assistant shakes an animal-hoof rattle,[2] and the singer begins his first chant. These opening songs are known as "dwelling songs." The first song "is about all the four poles. It is about the black horse, the stallion, the four horses, because in this ceremony a horse is given on the last day." Much of the vocalization is meaningless refrain, for the substance of ritual songs and prayers is largely implicit. But the prayer portion can be translated:

> Killer of Enemies[3] and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the blue stallion.
>
> Here Killer of Enemies and White-Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the yellow stallion.
>
> Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the black stallion.
>
> Here Killer of Enemies and White Painted Woman have made them so,
> They have made the poles of the dwelling so,
> For long life stands the white stallion.

From the structure to the south, where she is caring for her charge, the attendant cries out in reverent applause when the names of the supernaturals are mentioned. Throughout the rite, whenever reference is made in the songs to Killer of Enemies,

[2] From one informant, a Southern Chiricahua man, comes an assertion that a gourd rattle may be used in the girl's puberty rite in substitution for an animal-hoof rattle. He said: "A gourd rattle as well as the deer-hoof rattle can be used when the ceremonial tepee is being put up. This is the only time it is used; just the tepee singer has it. There are four small holes on each side of it. That is what makes the sound perfect. It has no design." All other informants state that only the animal-hoof rattle, made of four or more hoofs, usually tied to a length of wood, is used.

[3] For most of the Apache people of the Southwest, Killer of Enemies is the culture hero, and Child of the Water is a subordinate brother or companion. The Chiricahua have reversed the positions of these two; indeed, some Chiricahua have eliminated Killer of Enemies altogether and claim that the name is a synonym for Child of the Water. The older heritage persists, however, in the songs of the girl's puberty rite, which mention only Killer of Enemies. The Chiricahua simply accept these references as concerned with Child of the Water.

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881 793 198 White Painted Woman, Sun, or turquoise, she will utter this call.[4]

881 346 533 [539] During a second "dwelling song" the poles are lowered until their tips meet:

> The home of the long-life dwelling ceremony
> Is the home of White Painted Woman,
> Of long life the home of White Painted Woman is made,
> For Killer of Enemies has made it so,
> Killer of Enemies has made it so.

881 346 574 Quickly, when the tops of the four poles meet, the rope hanging from the east pole is wound around the others, and the framework is secure. Now the women come from the community kitchen, bearing receptacles filled with mesquite beans, boiled meat, mescal, yucca fruit, and other food. They set these in an [788] [823] east-west line before the entrance, and, after pollen crosses have been sprinkled over the top of each by the singer, everyone gathers to eat. The conspicuous display of food is symbolic of [261] plenty and of the favor of the supernaturals: "Child of the Water told the Apache to carry food into the ceremonial dwelling, to grab at it, play with it, and eat it. That's why we do it; it is his command."

881 346 [533] After the meal the ceremonial structure is quickly finished. The central fire pit is dug to the accompaniment of more songs. The oak boughs are tied horizontally to the poles, but an opening is left to the east. Women bring to the entrance spruce needles for the floor, and these are arranged by the singer and his helpers. The ceremonial home of White Painted Woman is now ready.[5]

[4] While it is the primary responsibility of the attendant to call thus, other women may join her: "Women, when White Painted Woman, turquoise, or sacred things are mentioned, have the right to make that call. This is true of any ceremony, not just the puberty ceremony. Also they can give that cry when the masked dancers approach, when they just begin to trot in from the east and the jingle of their pendants is heard. Any mature woman can do it, but old women do it mostly. They do it because of the religious feeling they have toward the Mountain People."

[5] The Mescalero Apache, with whom the Chiricahua now share a reservation, use four main poles of spruce and eight others—twelve in all—for the ceremonial structure. They also build the tepee with a runway of eight smaller spruces, four on either side, stretching eastward from the doorway. The Mescalero and Chiri-

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881 793 [788] [415] [824]

The conclusion of the events of the first day.—The attendant now comes forward, followed by the girl. Both are marked with pollen across the face and on top of the head. At the southeast of the structure the woman lays the skin of a four-year-old black-tailed deer. On this the girl kneels. Before her the attendant places a coiled basket tray, made of the unicorn plant, filled with bags of pollen and with ritual objects.

881 793 788 302 [823] [777]

The attendant is the first to come before the girl. She offers pollen to the directions and then paints the girl with it, marking her from cheek to cheek across the bridge of the nose and along the part of the hair. The girl marks her in the same way. A line of persons forms to the south and files past the girl to paint her with pollen and to be painted in turn. "We motion to the directions and then put pollen on her face. She does it to us. If she is a good girl, we'll have good luck then." Mothers bring forward their children to be blessed, painting the girl for them but allowing them to receive pollen from her.

881 755

Definite curative powers are attributed to the girl:

Painting the girl and being painted by her are thought to cure sickness. Some years ago there was a girl who was deformed pretty badly. Her buttocks stuck out in back, and her chest forward. She went through the line with the others. Then the old woman, the girl's attendant, massaged her. A little while later she began to straighten up and finally got entirely well.

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cahua act together now to hold the puberty rite. Most Chiricahua informants claim that their tribe used a four-pole tepee without runway. But a number of spokesmen have mentioned either the twelve-pole structure, the runway, or both, as aboriginal Chiricahua features.

In a tale told by an Eastern Chiricahua mention is made of a "big tepee" for which the "poles were of spruce and there was a runway of trees on either side."

Another Eastern Chiricahua said: "We used the tepee for the girl's puberty ceremony and had the same number of poles as are used here. I never saw one with four poles only among my people. There were four main poles."

A Southern Chiricahua claims the twelve-pole tepee for his people, but rejects the runway: "These Chiricahua never used the tepee except at the time of the girl's ceremony. Then they would put up four poles. Then they had eight more to make twelve, just as is done here at Mescalero. They didn't have the runway of small trees to the east. I never saw a Chiricahua have this before coming here."

Yet a four-pole ceremonial structure is specifically mentioned by other informants of these same bands. We may suspect, therefore, that there was a great deal of local variation among the Chiricahua in respect to these details.

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COSMOLOGY AND SUPERNATURALS

793 Ritual, poetry, and prayer often refer to the time "when the earth was new" or "when the earth was created," yet there is no tale that describes the event. Parents, in talking with their [796] children, credit Life Giver with the creation of the universe, but they offer no details and expect that faith in this deity will be later supplemented by interest in some more concrete manifestation of supernatural power.

821 Ideas concerning the relations of the earth, the heavenly bodies, and the forces of nature are often associated with personal supernatural power or with folk beliefs:

> We did not discuss whether the world was round or flat. The old people used to say that the sun is as large as a mountain. I think that the sun and moon are [778] [782] [533] in fixed position and that the heavens move. There are men who get power from the sun. They have songs and prayers directed toward the sun. It is thought that the sun goes into the sky at an eclipse. The moon does this too.
>
> During the summer rainy season the sun has a moccasin string made of rotten material, and it breaks and breaks. The constant rain makes it rotten. That is why we have a long day; he cannot move fast. But during the winter the sun uses yucca fiber for a moccasin string and goes pretty fast, for he does not have to pause much to bother with his moccasins.
>
> The moon is as big as the sun. Darkness interferes with the moon; therefore, we do not get so much light from the moon. The stars are thought to be pretty big too, as big as the moon or sun but set back farther. We notice that some are fixed and some travel, but we do not distinguish the two kinds by name.
>
> [756] A sun shaman would know all about the sun. But I'm no authority. I can only tell you what I've heard. I don't think that what I know amounts to much. I know that different men are telling stories in different ways. They may say that what I say isn't so. That's why I don't want to go into details.

[784] Consultations with other members of the tribe revealed some disagreements in details but left a similar impression of the unorganized state of the cosmology.

Feminine qualities are attributed to the earth, and one informant definitely stated, "The earth is thought of as a woman." Moreover, in all ceremonial contexts the earth is called by a term [778] [756] that is said to mean "Earth Woman."[4] But, except to a few

[4] Dr. Hoijer claims that he cannot analyze the word to give this meaning literally and says that it is an instance of folk etymology.

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224 262 The jack rabbit is supposed to have a bad taste. I never have eaten it, but I have eaten cottontails. In Oklahoma the other Indians ate jack rabbits, but most of the Chiricahua didn't. We eat the cottontail though. I like it. It has saved me many times, that rabbit! Cottontails are good.

[184] The dislike for jack rabbit is not unanimous, apparently, for a member of the Eastern band asserted, "The Hot Springs people eat cottontails and jack rabbits."

224 [857] Rabbits are hunted assiduously by boys who are still too young to seek larger game. Grown men shoot them when other game fails and fresh food is required at once. Sometimes a communal rabbit hunt or "rabbit clubbing" is arranged.[5] Rabbits and other small furry creatures are sometimes dislodged from burrows by means of long sticks. "They use a stick to get small animals out of holes. You catch the end of it in the animal's fur and twist. Then pull out. Any kind of wood or stick will do for this. Rabbits mostly are pulled out this way. Sometimes they get away."

224 262 Only a few are fond of prairie-dog meat:

The prairie dog is sometimes eaten. Some do it for health, but others don't like it; they are afraid of it, as they are of fish. They don't like the looks of it, I guess. As I understand it, very few eat it. No one warned me against eating it, but I just haven't done so. My father has mentioned eating it, but very few of the older people do. They say that prairie dogs eat snakes, just as hogs do. They don't say you can get sick from the prairie dog as you can from the snake, but the Chiricahua just don't like it much.

[857] Squirrels sometimes serve to replenish the larder. They are seldom hunted by grown men, but the boys hunt them and thus demonstrate their ability to add to the household's resources.

[184] Although peccaries are found in some parts of the tribal range, the members of at least two of the bands—the Eastern and Central—will not eat this meat because "the peccary eats snakes." A Southern Chiricahua band member, however, tells of hunts in which the wild hogs are rounded up like rabbits and shot down with arrows. The hunters surround a brushy place, for "the peccaries are found where there is a lot of brush; when on the flats they always make for the brush." The same informant said,

[5] For a description of this see p. 76.

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727 They scalped enemies. They did it to the whites. They put the scalp on a stick and hold it up and dance. . . . . They put it on a tree after the dance and let it dry and rot away.

The Chiricahua do not take the scalps of all the fallen enemies; but they take just one scalp, that of the man they believe to be the leader. Then they all go home with the stock that they have captured. They take this one scalp home with them.

[535] At home the hair of the scalp is tied onto a stick, and one man holds this stick upright with the scalp at the top of it. They have a dance around this scalp, lasting four days. The reason for the dance is that it is revenge for their dead, and they are proud, thinking that they are even with the other side. The widow, mother, and sister of a dead warrior feel proud when they see the scalp. They feel that they are even with the other side, and they take part in the four-day dance. They dance the round dance.

There is no interest in accumulating scalps; instead there is a fear of them. "They just let the scalp stay there until it wastes [715] away; they don't do anything to it. Those who handle the scalp [789] usually burn the 'ghost medicine' so the ghost won't bother them in any way."

727 All specific accounts of the scalp dance, incidentally, are from members of the Eastern band, neighbors of the Mescalero • 184 Apache and nearest to the Plains and its influences. Persons from other bands deny that they shared the custom. Said a member of the Central band: "I have never heard of a scalp dance among my people. I have been asking the old people. All say the Central Chiricahua do not do this." And from a man of the Southern band comes the statement: "We did not scalp or display a scalp at this time or any other. We are afraid of the blood and the ghost of the man. We didn't want to have anything to do with it."

727 Prisoners are taken in battle for a number of reasons:

When they capture a prisoner they always question him and get what information they can. If he won't give it, they usually kill him right there, or else they take him back to camp for the women to kill. Grown men are never kept alive to be married into the tribe or enslaved. A mature man is dangerous, and [597] they kill him. But a young boy of four, five, or six is adopted into the tribe. He becomes a real Chiricahua and later marries into the tribe. Children like this are captured when their father and mother are killed. The Chiricahua take the children to increase the tribe, and they are treated like other children. When the

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262 it differently. Then they gather them green, and each woman cuts a long stick,
252 six or seven feet long, just heavy enough so that a person can sit there all day long hitting the nuts and hulling them. One woman will be sitting with hers spread out on the ground before her; another will be a little distance away. They
[251] have to do this near water, near a creek, and wash them. Next they spread them out to dry for many days when the weather is good.

Then in wintertime they use the nuts with mesquite beans or mescal. They sit there and pound the nuts with a stone, shell and all, just as fine as possible. The mesquite beans are boiled and strained. For a strainer they use sticks that cross or a branch that has many twigs. This catches nearly all the coarse material. Then they put the nuts in but do not boil the mixture any more. It is ready to eat then.

When this is finished, you can dip in there with your bowl and hold it to your
[881] mouth and drink it like soup. This food is used nearly always at the girl's puberty rite.

[276] It's just the opposite from chewing tobacco. When you chew tobacco, you spit out the juice and leave in the coarse stuff; when you eat this, you swallow the juice and spit out the coarse stuff.

[184] An Eastern Chiricahua added to the above that his people boil the meats of walnuts as well.

222 The nuts of the Western yellow pine are not large enough to
262 gain much attention: "We don't pick them much; just a few now and then." Of much more importance are the seeds of the
[252] piñon pine. "When the outside shell is still green, the women pick many of them, heat them, and then, when they are shaken or stroked, the little nuts come out. Some ripen on the trees by themselves, open, and the nuts fall to the ground. The women pick these up too."

252 The women parch the piñon nuts for a few minutes until "they
262 get a little darker; then they will keep." There are a number of
[251] ways of utilizing the seeds. They may be cracked with a stone and the meats eaten alone, or the meats, when a sufficient quantity of them is shelled, "are mixed with yucca fruit which has been baked on coals; it makes good eating." As in the preparation of walnuts, the seeds, shell and all, may be ground fine on the metate and mixed with other foods. Mesquite beans, mescal, yucca fruit, and sumac berries have been mentioned as other foods with which they are combined.

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261 251 421 768 dying out, more distant relatives are told about the cache, and the secret spreads out in this way, so the stores will be of use to those who need them and will not go to waste.

AGRICULTURE

241 177 184 No attempt was made to cultivate crops until very recent times. One, and perhaps two, of the three major subdivisions or bands raised no crops at all until the modern reservation period. The oldest Southern Chiricahua informant stated categorically: "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them [by nature] and did not have to farm. They moved around too much also." The Central Chiricahua were little more inclined toward agriculture. One of them observed, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the whites." In 1873, shortly after the establishment of a reserve for the control of the Central and Southern Chiricahua, the first agent reported:

> In regard to the future prospects for farming operations by these Indians, I would state that I have conversed with Cochise and many of his head-men upon this subject repeatedly, and I am of the opinion that it will require some little time to bring them into the traces and make them submit to this exaction, which must eventually be required of them. They have never been an agricultural people, and claim that they do not know how to farm.[10]

But it is possible that the example of neighboring peoples who cultivated the land may have led to experiments on the part of individual families, as this statement of a Central Chiricahua suggests: "Even in Old Mexico, the Chiricahua tried to farm a little."

[648] [439] [175] [648] The Eastern Chiricahua, who seem to have had earlier friendly relations and trade contacts with the Spanish-speaking townspeople, began to farm even before the modern reservations were established. By 1869, according to government reports, the leaders of this band were complaining that they were being driven from lands where they used to plant.[11] Testimony from informants corroborates these old reports: "These Eastern Chiricahua Indians farmed before the whites came. They tell about

[10] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1873.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1869.

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the big ditches they used at Hot Springs." "We've had corn as long as I can remember." "The Eastern Chiricahua planted corn even in the old times." "All the groups of Eastern Chiricahua planted." Maize was undoubtedly the first vegetable raised. "When I was young," recalled a very old man, "we never had any cultivated vegetables except corn. Later others came from Old Mexico."

The influence of the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south in the impetus toward agricultural pursuits is admitted:

> The Eastern Chiricahua raised corn, pumpkins, potatoes, onions, chili, and watermelons. We had a good deal of contact with Spanish towns. We learned to speak Spanish, and the Spanish people showed us how to raise these things. We got the seeds from the Mexicans too. We got big hoes from them or traded them from the whites.

The Eastern band made good use of the intervals of peace:

> If a Chiricahua had a Mexican friend, he would get corn as a gift, and the Indian might give a horse or something else to the Mexican. We planted at Hot Springs as well as in Mexico. We received corn up here, as well as in Mexico, from the Mexicans living around. The Indians used to be good friends with the Mexicans often. When I was small I used to play with Mexican children. They gave me the name the white people call me by now.

The techniques of cultivation in use among the Eastern Chiricahua are described by an informant:

> We planted corn, cantaloupes, and watermelons. No squash or pumpkins were planted at first. Some Chiricahua never had pumpkins or squash until 1885 or 1886, except what they could get from other peoples.
>
> We used irrigation. We dug trenches from a stream to the farm and stopped these irrigation ditches with dirt when we wanted to block them. When the corn was big enough to hoe, we went out in the woods and made a hoe of bent root. Later we had hoes from the Mexicans. To make the holes for the seeds, we used just a pointed stick. The men worked in the fields; the women worked in the fields too, but mostly men did it.

Although this informant feels that agriculture is a legitimate activity for men, another disagrees, saying: "Planting was considered a woman's job. That is the way I feel. At Fort Sill men had to do it." "Men, women, and boys assisted," according to a third spokesman. Evidently, the division of labor in agricultural work was not clear cut.

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Another account from an Eastern band member adds to the picture:

We lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering plants. But we planted corn in May, too, with Mexican hoes that were traded up. The people kept camp near their farms then, tending the corn, watering it, and weeding it. Men and women both did the planting and other work. If the man was busy or off hunting, the woman would do it herself. Corn is a favorite food, because it can be used in a good many ways.

The Chiricahua picked up the trait [of planting] long ago in Mexico. Only some of the families planted corn, but they could share their crop with their neighbors. Only about six or seven families out of the hundred in a big encampment[1] might plant corn, and each family would do it on separate land. Others would help in the work on one of these plots, and then the owner would share the crop with them. The seeds came from the Mexicans, and many didn't plant partly because they didn't have seeds.

We also got beans, chili, squash, and watermelons from the Mexicans, and the Chiricahua learned to plant these. The Chiricahua never specialized on plants—each person who grew any, grew them all in his space. Some of the planted areas were as large as thirty acres, but there were no lines between; everything was free.

If some didn't want to plant, they could hunt. Then they would give their neighbors meat, and the farmer who had a great deal allowed anyone to take what he wanted. There wasn't any buying of things.

A more detailed description of the manner in which corn was planted by the Eastern Chiricahua is the following:

The corn is soaked all night. Then two or three kernels are dropped in a hole. They say the soaking makes it grow faster. Some plant the corn kernels deep. This is when they are not soaked. When you soak them, you don't bury them so deep. Beans and pumpkin and watermelon seeds are soaked first too.

Agriculture never became so important that its symbols were richly represented in religion or mythology. Occasionally, it is advised that the corncob be put back in the husk to insure an abundant future crop, undoubtedly an extension of the custom of replacing the unused part of a medicinal plant. There is an association of the katydid with crop-raising: "The katydid is an insect the Chiricahua will not kill. We say it helps the crops grow. We pray to it to help the crops grow." In discussing the

[1] It is doubtful that encampments of one hundred families ever existed in pre-reservation days. The informant's estimates of population and of the size of farms seem excessive in this statement.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

281 When a skin is to be used as a robe or a blanket, still another procedure is followed:

When a hide is to be used for a blanket, the hair is left on. Deer and mountain sheep pelts are prepared like this. The inner side is fleshed carefully and pounded to soften it. Deer brains are rubbed on this inner side, and the blanket is worked until it is soft.

When they have those skins with hair on for blankets, they use them any way according to the weather. In cold weather they put the fur side inside.

282 Making saddle bags is also one of the woman's tasks:

28[After the hide is removed, the woman stakes it out in the sun. Sometimes she
[462] has grass under it, sometimes not. The hair side is underneath. She leaves it there until it is dry. Then she takes it and puts the hair side up. She has a sharp tool with which to scrape off the hair. Then she fleshes it. After scraping it, she rubs it with the brains to make it soft. She doesn't soak it in water at all. Now she cleans, cuts, folds, and sews it. Then she cuts a slit in the middle and puts dirt in on each side. When the hide is entirely dry, she takes the dirt out. A bulge is left on each side where the dirt was. Then it is ready to be put on the horse.

415 The parfleche or flat hide container is a recent acquisition, and
• 184 its use has not penetrated to all sections of the tribe. Southern Chiricahua informants say that the parfleche was not made by them, and some Central Chiricahua report that it was not found
[186] in their group. One Central Chiricahua informant was much incensed, however, at the suggestion that the parfleche he described might have been inspired by Mescalero examples:

The Chiricahua had the parfleche, as I have told you. In fact, it originated with the Chiricahua. These Mescalero never went around or found out anything! They stayed right here year after year. They got the parfleche from the Chiricahua. I was with the Chiricahua when they were going from Fort Apache to Florida [1886]. Some of them had parfleches then. I saw parfleches in my own home.

281 The Central Chiricahua parfleche is very simply made. The
282 fact that cowhide seems to be the only material used in its manu-
415 facture points to its recent adoption:

[177] In the old days we had parfleches. The woman made them, and it is hard
[462] work to make one. She has to scrape off the flesh from the inside of the skin and scrape a little of the fur off the top. She has to work around and around, and pound and pound it until she gets it the way she wants it. First she pounds it all

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

over, or it will be too thick. Then she pounds it more where she is going to fold it.

She cuts it the size and shape she wants, so that when she folds it over it will come out even. It is made by folding the cowhide over. You fold it over once, and then again, and then from the ends. The end pieces go on top usually. Some fold the ends in first and then fold the sides. There is no one way of doing it. Next the woman cuts out a cowhide rope and ties it, first the long way and then the short way. That's all there is to it.

You can store things away in it and keep it in a cave, or you can carry it on your pack horse. Bushes and rocks won't hurt it. Rain won't hurt it, because it is made out of cowhide. I've seen some with fur on and some without fur. The Central Chiricahua never put designs on the parfleches. They have them all sizes. I never saw any that were not made of cowhide and never heard of any that were made of anything else.

The Eastern Chiricahua lavish more care upon the manufacture of the parfleche. Two side pieces are made to fit over the bottom, and then the two end pieces are brought over and laced. All the fur is taken off, and designs, "as on the bow," are painted on the outer surface. One informant stated that men cannot be present when a woman is working on a parfleche, an interesting example of the strong feeling for the sexual division of labor.

This feeling extends into the artistic field, and the character of the decoration on painted or incised objects is determined by the sex of the worker. "Men draw things, such as animals, people, and freehand figures. Women do not. I would feel that it was out of place for a woman to do this. She doesn't even paint a star. She would just make certain patterns [conventional designs]. She can do this at any time."

Other hide objects besides parfleches are made by the woman. Awl cases and pollen bags are fashioned from buckskin. Bags to hold piñon nuts and acorns are made of badger skins. These are hung in the home, as much for their beauty as for their utility. The woman also cuts plate-shaped pieces of rawhide to be used "like the shallow woven bowl." In addition, she prepares "a container of rawhide, having the shape of a burden basket, but only half as large" to be used as a water carrier.

The quiver and the bow cover are so intimately associated with masculine activities that it is considered essential for a man to have some part in making them. The woman prepares the

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

are too heavy to carry along. But we take the mano which is ready made and carry it along often. Then the woman uses it on a flat rock or one with a shallow depression.

Some metates are fashioned by the women for themselves, however:

These metates are about two feet long and one foot wide. They have a little depression which the woman makes by pecking it out with another stone and then rubbing it smooth. A woman has just one grinder on which she grinds the same food several times if she wants to make it finer.

Some women carry these all the time. It all depends on how often we move and how far we are going. The mano used with this grindstone is about six or eight inches long, just long enough so that a woman can work with two hands. Chiricahua women kneel when grinding. We have no grinding songs.

A pounder of animal bone, or one of a stone selected because its shape conveniently fits the hand, is another utensil with which the woman equips herself.

Housebuilding.—The woman not only makes the furnishings of the home but is responsible for the construction, maintenance, and repair of the dwelling itself and for the arrangement of everything in it. She provides the grass and brush beds and replaces them when they become too old and dry. With a stiff grass broom or with a leafy branch, she sweeps out the interior if that is necessary. However, formerly "they had no permanent homes, so they didn't bother with cleaning."

The dome-shaped dwelling or wickiup, the usual house type for all the Chiricahua bands, has already been described.[13] But a "peaked" home of brush, roughly resembling a conical Plains tepee in shape is also made. Said a Central Chiricahua informant:

Both the tepee and the oval-shaped house were used when I was a boy. The oval hut was covered with hide and was the best house. The more well-to-do had this kind. The tepee type was just made of brush. It had a place for a fire in the center. It was just thrown together.

Both types were common even before my time. For the girl's puberty rite the tepee type was used. Ten or more poles are used in the tepee. The number depends on the person who makes it. It is woman's work to do it, though sometimes the men would help a little.

[13] See pp. 22–23.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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342 184 A house form that departs from the more common dome-shaped variety is recorded for the Southern Chiricahua as well:

> A house with sides that go up to a point has been used as far back as I can remember. When we settled down, we used the wickiup; when we were moving around a great deal, we used this other kind. No certain number of poles was used for this type. The poles were never carried along. For the girl's puberty rite my people used the tepee. I can remember this was used back when I was eight or nine years old.

[88] [346]

This alternate house type with slanting sides was a hastily constructed and very temporary dwelling among the Central and Southern Chiricahua and is hardly comparable to the permanent home of the Plains Indians. Among the Eastern Chiricahua, however, the tepee was more common and was better made, though it never became the favored form:

> A few of the Eastern Chiricahua had a tepee like that of the Mescalero. Sometimes it was made with a three-pole base and sometimes with a four-pole base. The three-pole base was more common. In my day it was cloth covered, but the old people talk of them and say that, before the whites and the Spanish were here, hides were used. But most of the people of my group used the round house.
>
> The Eastern Chiricahua didn't drag the poles of the tepee when they moved. They put them on the front of the saddle, as many as they could carry, and then went back for the rest. Usually they just discarded them though. They could always make new ones.

[484] [492]

342 In addition to these regular house forms, both men and women, when they were away from home, made windbreaks by "crossing some sticks and throwing brush and leaves against them."

HOME INDUSTRIES OF MEN

411 [462] *Weapons and tools.*—Foremost among the man's tasks when he is at home are the making and the repairing of weapons.

[824] The favorite wood for the bow is from the mulberry tree. Oak, locust, and New Mexico maple are also acceptable. The self-bow is the only type made. It is usually three to four feet long, "the length of two arrows."[16] Almost always it has a single curve, though double-curved bows are made occasionally.

[16] These would be the "short" or hardwood shafted arrows. For arrow lengths see p. 390.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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It is not an easy task to learn these stories. You have to be patient when the stories are being told. You have to listen very closely. You have to sit up at night when it's very cold, no telling how long, sometimes all night. When a funny story comes along, everybody is laughing. And at all other times you have to listen very closely and be quiet. As much as I have sat up and listened to the stories, I have to be reminded of some of them in order to get it correctly the way I first heard it.

When Coyote stories are being told, there is generally a big crowd present. The older people, before they told the Coyote stories, would say, "When you tell these stories, they make you very sleepy." When you get sleepy, they wake you up. They shake you or they tickle your nose with grass. I've been treated that way. But, if someone just can't keep awake, they let him go to sleep.

Both old men and old women could tell the stories. It would be like this. Some of these stories are very funny, and many times the boys of about fourteen years of age would get together and go to some old man's home and say, "Tell us Coyote stories."

But the Apache is very careful not to embarrass someone before whom he is ashamed, even when he is telling Coyote stories. If he comes to one of the stories that would embarrass anyone, he says, "I want to tell you, in case people who are ashamed before each other are here, that I am going to tell some very funny stories now." Of course, not every man will do this; it depends on the individual. A man like C. doesn't care what he says. But I remember that most people would be very careful at such times. Once my father was telling stories. My brothers were there, and my sister and my wife and some other women. Pretty soon he came to one of these stories. One by one we men went out and went into a shack next door. You probably noticed that just now I told my son-in-law to go into the tent next door, build himself a fire, and stay there. I just don't want him to hear me tell stories like that.[3]

When interested people, young or old, visit him to hear his rendition of the myths and tales, it is an opportunity for the narrator to display his hospitality as well as his abilities. He seldom allows his guests to leave without offering them food: [574]

One time at Fort Sill seven of us boys came to N. About ten o'clock he said, "Make coffee for these boys. I don't know how long they'll stay. We'll have lunch about midnight." So we stayed and had a big lunch. That's what they used to do a long time ago, he said. N. knew the old ways. We stayed until three or four in the morning listening to old stories.

[3] No father-in-law avoidance is practiced in this case. Though the informant is a Chiricahua, his son-in-law is a Lipan. The Lipan do not practice avoidance of affinal relatives. [606] [184] [602]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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Western Apache (Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto, White Mountain or Coyotero, Cibecue, and San Carlos Apache), and the Navaho. The dialects of the Chiricahua and Mescalero are usually close—closer, in all probability, than the dialects of any two other Southern Athabaskan tribes.

Ethnic ties point in the same direction. With due allowance for individual tribal variations and the influence of adjoining culture areas, there emerges a basic core of mythology, belief, and social organization common and peculiar to these Southern Athabaskans. In this respect the Mescalero and Chiricahua are again found to be most closely associated. In fact, the evidence of language, custom, and geographical location strongly suggests that these two tribes represent a late differentiation of a parent stock.

LOCATION

The land which the Mescalero claim was theirs in aboriginal times lay principally in what is now New Mexico. The eastern limit of their recognized territory was the flat country to the east of Hondo, but expeditions for salt, or to hunt antelope and buffalo often took them far beyond this point and many times east of the Pecos. Occasionally they wandered as far north as Santa Fe. On the south their range extended into northwestern Texas and into northern Chihuahua and Coahuila, Old Mexico. The Rio Grande was their western boundary. The favorite Mescalero haunts were to be found in the San Andreas, Sacramento, and Guadalupe mountain ranges. Places within this central mountainous area are the ones most frequently mentioned in the old stories, and from this section hunting expeditions and raiding and war parties would start out for the more remote parts of Mescalero territory.

The Chiricahua ranged through western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and southward into Old Mexico. Their eastern boundary began at the Rio Grande. They ranged westward approximately to the eastern boundaries of the present White Mountain and San Carlos Indian reser-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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619 621 101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

• 184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

[224] [342] [492] [415] [531]

291 184 [177] [302] An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

[302]

2; Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

Not uncommonly the Mescalero women, too, wore leggings and braided (but did not wrap) her hair. The Chiricahua woman wore no leggings. Her hair was gathered at the back of the head, tied there, and covered with a decorated form of hour-glass shape. The Mescalero plucked the eyebrows, a practice which the Chiricahua never followed.

The tendency of the Mescalero to draw inspiration from the Plains is observable in many other aspects of the culture, particularly in the war complex. The round, rawhide shield was of more frequent occurrence among the Mescalero than among the Chiricahua. The Mescalero always made a designed buckskin cover for the shield, whereas the Chiricahua shield lacked a buckskin cover more often than not, the decoration being painted directly upon the rawhide. The trailing feather headdress is associated with Mescalero war practices but it is not to be found for the Chiricahua. The same differentiation may be observed for scalping. While the Mescalero warrior was by no means as interested in scalping as his Plains counterpart, he had distinctly more feeling for the practice than did the Chiricahua. Upon the return of a successful war party, it was an integral part of the celebration for the Mescalero fighters to relate the character of their exploits and for their fellow warriors to bear witness to their bravery and veracity. This usage was unknown to Chiricahua warfare.

It seems patent that the essential divergences between Chiricahua and Mescalero cultures can be defined in terms of the eastern position of the latter which made possible contact and association with the buffalo-hunting tribes of the southern plains. Even in matters ceremonial this criterion proves sound. The sole major variation between Mescalero and Chiricahua ritual life is that the Mescalero carried on peyote ceremonies and the Chiricahua did not. Since the greatest development of the peyote cults occurred among the Plains tribes and their immediate neighbors, this tribal difference can likewise be laid to geographical position.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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263 picked, cut open, dried on sticks, and used in sweetening different foods.

262 [178] The fruits of various genera of cacti are still used as food but no longer constitute an important article of diet among these Apache. Formerly the Chiricahua Apache, [137] who ranged in western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and to the south in Old Mexico, utilized as food the fruit of the sahuaro or giant cactus *(Carnegiea gigantea)* and of the organ-pipe cactus or pitahaya dulce *(Lemaireocereus thurberi)*. Their name for it was *madaya*, an Apache corruption of pitahaya. [171] The gathering and utilization of these fruits by the Chiricahua Apache was not unlike that reported by Castetter and Underhill *(5:21)* for the Papago; the reader is referred to that paper for a discussion of the subject. [184] The Mescalero Apaches never have used these species as they do not grow within their present or past range.

252 262 [413] [824] [251] [824] The ripe fruit of a number of species of Opuntia, prickly pear cactus, was commonly utilized as food. The ripe fruits, or tunas, were removed with a pair of wooden tongs, made by doubling a pliable branch, and cleaned of spines with a brush of stiff stems of sacaton grass *(Sporobolus wrightii)* while held with the tongs. The fruit was then placed in burden baskets and taken home to be eaten fresh or dried and stored. To dry, the fruit was split lengthwise, freed of seeds, and placed on big blue stem grass *(Andropogon furcatus)* in the sun. Sun-dried fruit was usually boiled before eating, although soaking in water sometimes softened it [251] enough for use. Sometimes, after the seeds were removed, the fruit was mashed into a pulp and stored in this caked [953] form. Many of the Indians of the Southwest contend that these tunas or nopales must be eaten with discretion as too much of the fruit causes a fever; Bourke *(2:44)* corroborates this. [222] [482] The Chiricahua and Mescalero Apache women collected the tunas in large baskets carried on their backs, suspended from a tumpline which rested on the upper part [251] of the chest. The split fruit was spread out to dry in the sun. Tunas formerly constituted a very important Apache food.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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252 *(Berberis haematocarpa)*, which ripened in September, and
262 elderberries *(Sambucus microbotrys)*. These were cooked
137 with a sweet substance, strained, and allowed to jell. Rose hips *(Rosa fendleri)* were at times eaten fresh but more frequently the pulp was squeezed into water and boiled to make jelly, while black chokecherries *(Prunus melanocarpa)*, which ripened in August, were either eaten fresh or
[251] cooked to make a sort of preserve. Most commonly, however, the fruits were ground, pressed, and saved for winter, when the mass was cooked to make jelly. The Mescalero
262 Apache have used these chokecherries for many years. The
184 Chiricahua Apache called the fruit of this particular variety "bear's food" and did not eat them until they saw the Mes-
262 calero Apache do so. Another species of chokecherry *(Prunus* sp.) which grew in the Mescalero country was never eaten by the Apache, and most of these Indians were afraid to touch the fruits. The few who did occasionally eat them said they were intoxicating, and that the only way to counteract their effect was to eat fresh meat. The
[251] fruit of the hackberry, *Celtis reticulata*, which ripened late
[252] in September, was either eaten fresh or ground, caked, and dried for winter use. Sometimes jelly was made from it.

252 In common with many other groups of southwestern
262 Indians these Apache utilized to a considerable degree the
137 three-leaved sumac *(Rhus trilobata)*. The red fruits were gathered from midsummer to fall and dried in the sun. After grinding between flat stones the pulp was mixed with water and sugar and cooked. This jam was formerly commonly eaten with bread made of sunflower seeds and with prepared mescal. The fruits of *Rhus microphyllus* were similarly utilized.

Wild plants used as greens by the Apache, as well as other Indians of the Southwest, were red root or tumbleweed *(Amaranthus graecizans)*, purslane *(Portulaca oleracea)*, lamb's quarter, often called Indian spinach *(Chenopodium alba)*, leaves of pigweed *(Amaranthus retroflexus)*, the leaves of *Rumex occidentalis*, and osha or chuchupate *(Ligusticum porteri)*; all these are still utilized at the pres-